2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

abdomen uncovered in front, which deficiency is made up by the wearing of warm stomachers.

A pair of woman's trousers of curried elkskin ornamented with beads and brass bells is illustrated in Fig. 39. To these are attached two rings to which leggings, stockings, or high boots may be tied. The long leather strings are intended to tie around the stomach protector.

In some cases the short pantalets have developed into long, tight trousers, the lower ends of which are tied around the legs and over the ankles with strings. Many Yakut, particularly near Russian settlements, wear wide trousers of the Russian style. Trousers are made chiefly from reindeer or calf leather and, for the winter, are fur-lined. Near Russian settlements trousers of cotton or plush are used during the summer.

We turn our attention here to two peculiarities in the style of Yakut clothing: First, the fancy for flat collars which may be seen in all the illustrations of men's as well as women's clothing. The collar is always of different material and color from that of the coat or shirt. Cloth coats have plush collars. Fur coats usually have collars of more valuable peltry than the rest of the garment. The collars of mare or cowskin coats are of the same material, but in black. Even the calico shirt has a collar. Second, Yakut coats always open in the middle of the front and may thus be distinguished from Buryat or Mongol coats which open near the right shoulder.

Tailoring is the exclusive work of women. They use no special patterns in cutting out their materials, but follow the form of some old garment, or trust entirely to memory. They know all the Russian stitches, but prefer the simple running stitch, which they use not only in sewing skins, but also cloth and calico. They also employ the back stitch, cross stitch, and button hole stitch. Their stitching is uneven and coarse. They do but little embroidery. The old embroidery patterns were made with silk, sinew thread and horsehair (from the mane or tail).

A general name for any kind of footwear is *eterbes*, from Turkic *etik*. Footwear varies with the season and its use for riding or walking on snow, in water, or on rocky and swampy ground. The most characteristic Yakut footwear, called *sāry-eterbes*, or horseskin boots, may be seen in Fig. 40*b*. These are made of dressed and dyed black hide from the hind quarters of a horse. The flat sole is turned up to form the instep and sewn to the top, forming a wedge. The seams are made with great care and the boots are waterproof. A buckle back of the ankles serves

Z: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

they do not use fur sleeping bags as do the Russians and some of the Tungus, nor do they sleep dressed in double fur clothing like the Chukchee and Koryak. They simply cover their naked shoulders with a hare skin blanket. There is a Russian proverb which says: Keep the feet warm, the head cold. The Yakut follow the opposite custom. When traveling in winter with Yakut drivers it was noted that they lay with heads and not their feet near the campfire. Usually one of the men stayed awake to tend the fire, but it sometimes happened that everyone fell asleep, the fire was extinguished, the blankets were lifted by the wind, exposing the naked backs of the sleepers to the frost which was covered with rime,—and they continued to sleep.

Fig. 46. Costume of Poor Yakut Children.

Pottery

In our discussion of dwellings we noted the Yakut use of clay to cover their earth huts and to rub their stoves. For these purposes they use an inferior clay called *cuor*, meaning simply, earth, soil. Clay for pottery is called *tuoi*. It cannot be said that Yakut pottery reaches great perfection, since the ceramic art is still in a low stage of development. However, clay pots are made everywhere in Yakutsk Province, except in its northern districts. The Yakut of the Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk districts and the northern part of the Viliuisk District neither manufacture nor use pottery.

Pottery-making requires the joint labor of men and women, the former find the suitable clay and the latter construct the pots. Pottery clay is found in the valleys of mountain rivers, usually forming a layer two meters thick under the black surface soil. That the Yakut brought the art of pottery-making with them from their original home in the south may be proven by the potsherds excavated in the Baikal region. Neither the Buryat, the present inhabitants of that region, nor the Mongols generally, ever made pottery. The potter's wheel and such refinements of the art as polishing, glazing, or painting, are all unknown to the Yakut, so that their pottery-making did not extend beyond the confines of the rudimentary technique.

6: Sauer--130[3] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 462

"The women make all their cloathing, look after the cattle, milk the cows and mares, chop wood, dress food, &c."

19: Kharuzin -- 42-43 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 462, 562, 578, 614, 837

If the husband beat his wife without good reason, from the point of view of the Yakuts, she has the right to complain to the clan government or to apply for protection to the Natives'Court. The husband is not oblidged to maintain fidelity; he can abandon his wife, live in another place, cohabit with another woman. The wife, on the contrary, must preserve fidelity, although occasional relations with other men, if they take place with the consent of the husband, are regarded by the Yakuts with complete indifference. [43] Although at the present time the personal position of the wife in relation to her husband has changed for the better, in comparison with the past, to her lot, nevertheless, continues to fall the most arduous domestic labor. Except where the family is rich, or the wife is richer than the husband, the duties of the woman include more than the care of the household; the care of the cattle, the making of cheese and butter, the painting of the yurt, and often even the mowing of hay, cutting of wood, etc., if the husband cannot manage the other jobs by himself.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

with the toyons, particularly in the Olekminskiy Okrug, close to the ulusy associated with the Lena gold mines and those lying near the town of Yakutsk. The toyons sold butter, meat, hay and other agricultural products at these markets. 443

Commercial relations then began to develop within the actual Yakut ulusy. Forged objects had long been manufactured for purposes of sale, and there were cases in which wooden, bone and other articles were made to order. Products from cattle-breeding, hay, firewood and building materials were also often sold and bought; the products of hunting—furs—were almost universally sold. Nevertheless, the overall structure of the Yakut economy was still a subsistence one.

The division of labor within the family was traditional. Male and female occupations were sharply divided. Men and women looked after the stock but the former preferred to deal with horses (and even milk the mares), while women chiefly tended cattle. Everyone took part in the haymaking, but the mowing itself was a male occupation. Hunting and fishing were reserved for men. Woodworking, metalworking, and mammoth-ivory carving were male occupations, while the dressing of hide and fur, sewing clothes and footwear, making leather and clay vessels were reserved for women. Finally, it was the males who cut the timber and built the dwellings, while the women carried water, lit the fires and cooked the food. Hired workers, dependent poorer kinsmen, and, in ancient times, slaves in many cases performed both male and female tasks. 462 [466]

Means of Transportation

The ancient Yakut means of transportation were adapted to the barely passable taiga. Before the advent of the Russians, the Yakuts did not know of the wheeled carriage, and until very recently people in the more out of the way places had never seen wheels. Sledges and sledge harnesses were known; in the central regions the Yakut sledges were almost identical in shape to the Russian ones, but in the north they were straight-sided reindeer sledges. 493

In the old days, the Yakuts had their own particular type of sledge (silis syarga); the runners were not bent, but made of a piece of wood with a rootstock and had a slight natural curve. Yakut sledges are mentioned in 17th-century documents as a means of transportation. The most primitive form of harnessing was a strap attached to the saddle of a horse. In other cases shafts were used in the same way as the strap. Oxen were more often harnessed to sledges than horses. The ox was harnessed to shafts with a yoke; the Yakut yoke (*буруалдыы*, or *буулага* and *суурдэр*) is made in two pieces, very different from the Russian or Ukrainian ox-yoke, and like the sledge was evidently indigenous in origin. The Yakuts travelled on the sledges, and sometimes still do, both in winter and summer. 492

A more typical means of transportation was the horse (used both for riding and carrying packs). The Yakut packsaddle, the base of which was two wooden boards secured together at an angle, is similar in shape to the type used by the South Siberian pastoralists. The same thing can more or less be said of the riding saddle, except that in the case of the Yakuts it is higher, broader and thicker. The saddle frame was usually made of wood; the high, wide saddlebow was usually reinforced at the front with a stamped silver plate with a forged hook in the center for the reins; the low back was also encased in silver. Silver ornaments, incidentally, are characteristic of a later period and the older saddles (from excavations) are not adorned with this metal. The saddle frame was covered with a [581]